101, 113

[Additional information on the Tu ren may be found in 5: Tafel, AJ1 Tibet, category 116, pp. 418-430.]

/2 cont'd/

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162

Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

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197

These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to
● [113] the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

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648

The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

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The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.

[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).

[267] Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

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V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

•[113]

1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thankoffering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.
Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared.
During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

[113]

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.
From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch'an-ssu* would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu*, the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssu*, it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch'an-ssu*. Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

Buddhism was introduced in China "officially" between A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,[7] before the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80–110 or 120–162), whose realm was situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.[8] Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the Chinese generals waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.–A.D. 101).[9] The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.[10] All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.[11]

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, " . . . nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China." However, Franke wrote earlier, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, " . . . Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.*, 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century, A.D. . . ."

[8] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 55: " . . . the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century, B.C."

[9] O. Franke, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, " . . . during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

[10] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 245.

[11] Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The colonization of Huang-chung started between 121 and 119 B.C. with the transportation of Chinese families from central China, and criminals released from jail (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 30, p. 2*b*). In A.D. 9 the colonization system was developed on a larger scale in the same way. In A.D. 132 (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9) after five new colonies were established, the total number reached only ten. Intermittently, new families and criminals had to be sent to replace those who died or ran away (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9*b*). In A.D. 220, after three centuries, the originally walled, small garrison of Hsining was expanded by the building of three new cities, on three sides of it (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 13*a*). For the first time, Hsining started to become a real city, the only one in the whole country.

It is tempting to suppose that, at the time of the expansion of the city, the temple of the "Earth Tower" might have been built, for it could easily have been protected by the garrison troops who farmed the fields around it. On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Buddhism already had a firm toehold in China in the second half of the second century A.D. It seems possible that among these colonists some might have been professing Buddhists when they arrived in Huang-chung, because Buddhism was the religion of the people. If so, Buddhism might have been imported by the colonists and practiced among them during the second century A.D. However, another possibility is not precluded. Monks who were attendants for the early translators of Buddhist texts (A.D. 148) might have settled in the emporium of Liang-chou, diffusing Buddhism as monks used to do in the oasis cities of Turkistan. Some among them might have tried to go to Hsining to spread Buddhism, after the city had been built and relative security provided. However, no historical data are available to support either of these two suppositions.

More can hardly be said about the diffusion of Buddhism in Huang-chung during the first three centuries of our era, because of the lack of historical data.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY HSIEN-PI TRIBES?

The region of Huang-chung, and its neighboring countries, upset during the second and third centuries by three noticeable invasions of Hsien-pi tribes which settled in the country, driving out the larger Tibetan

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border a third colony from the 'Far West,' this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of Hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-Yeh we have Li-Chien-Hsien. . . . It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription . . . which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty. . . . The name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire." See also M. Medard, Ta-Ts'in, Province romaine en Asie, *Journal de Pékin*, 141 *et. sq.*, 1936.

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the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerers and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them. (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the Wu-tai period (907–960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, " . . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

[P. 11(B)]

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Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had defeated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely

[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1) : 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1 : 8, *et seq.* It is the merit of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1 : 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4 : 510–517–522.

[P. 13(8)]

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However, no compulsory religious instruction was provided for adults or children in order to make the subjects more fervent, and no schools or charitable institutions existed. The subjects were never compelled to attend ceremonies in the temples, for only lamas recite texts in temples, and temples are not what we are accustomed to calling churches. Finally, the religious activities imposed on the subjects reflected more a material than a spiritual interest, and bound them closer to their chiefs. 175 792 794

If we take into account the period of incredibly rapid increase in the founding and branching out of monasteries, the number of lamas must have been tremendous. Certainly the revolt of 1723 and its drastic suppression largely prove this assertion. Necessarily, the absorption into the lama communities of a large proportion of the male population of the country must have adversely affected productivity. Men who became lamas were not only withdrawn from production, but had to be fed by the depleted population. It is easy to understand that in such circumstances trade and industry could by no means develop and flourish. The large groups of lamas did not produce anything; they merely consumed the production of the country and hoarded its wealth. Their economic role was simply that of consumers, and so the economy of the country was necessarily agricultural and limited to its needs. 175 792

The same conditions existed in the two cities of Huang-chung and in the garrisons. There the soldiers and the relatively feeble population consumed what the colonists could produce. Only later on, when peace was restored, communications with the capital of the province assured, and trade had become possible, could the cities and the whole country develop and emerge from the former limited agricultural economy—an outlet had been found for the products of the country. The farmer, assured of the possibility of selling as much as he could produce, started producing to the peak of his capacity. These conditions seem to explain the deadly stagnation prevailing in the country from 1368 to 1723.

These seem to have been the conditions of lama Buddhism between 1368 and 1723 in Huang-chung, the privileged legal position of the temporal and spiritual chiefs of large and small lama institutions, the important role played by the monasteries, Nang-suos and Karwas, centers of the public and private life of the country, the bursting activity displayed inside the walls of the monasteries, the conditions of the subjects of the monasteries and the economic consequences arising from the tremendous number of the male population which had become lamas.[9]

[9]H. H. Vreeland, 3rd, Mongol community and kinship structure, *Human Relations Area Files*, New Haven, 1954. After the completion of the present study, there appeared this outstanding study dealing with the Khalkha Mongols of the Narobanchin territory, the Chahar Mongols of the Taibas pasture and the Dagor Mongols of the Nonni River valley. The study [13]

[p. 51(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

that the family may become rich and be blessed with children. If a beggar happens to go through first, the gate has to be rebuilt. A guest never enters directly the home of a friend, lest he might harm the family. Never prepare a hare or chicken for dinner for a guest, because it would harm him. When two friends, having a long talk at night, see the black top of the lamp wick showing the shape of a flower, they congratulate each other, smiling, for the spirit promises to both a happy event in the family. If a crow caws on the roof, it has to be driven away immediately lest a member of the family die or get sick. A member of the family will certainly die soon if a parson crow (hooded crow) enters the door; a calamity is imminent if a magpie cries in the evening, even if, at night, foxes howl, horses neigh, and dogs bark. If a hen crows trouble will surely start in the family, the harvest will be bad, and maybe the Moslems will rebel.

A bride on her wedding day is not allowed to be put on the horse by a "half man," a widower or bachelor; her makeup is not to be done by a "half woman," a widow or a girl, for fear of becoming soon a "half woman." A person dreaming at night about unlucky events, spits for a long time in order that ominous events will not befall him. Never give things to children which are entire, for example, hold over a bit of the frosting of a cookie. The same rule is observed when something is given to a beggar, for fear the guardian spirit of your wealth, should wreak vengeance and the family be impoverished. When drinking tea or wine, or eating food, always throw a bit of it over your shoulder, or sprinkle a few drops, thereby feeding the hungry souls roaming all over the world, in order not to be harmed by them. Never urinate in a river, or facing the sun or the moon, or at night in front of the manikan. At night never appear completely naked before the manikan, or you will surely be harmed. All the taboos after childbirth and funerals are scrupulously observed.

These few facts give an insight into the mentality of fear prevailing among the Monguors concerning the whole army of malignant spirits which surround them. No wonder that the whole day long they cast horoscopes in order to avoid all possible harm. These few facts will help to understand the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live and practice their religion.[4]

[4] The very valuable study of F. Johan Frick and F. Franz Eichinger, Tiere in Volksleben, Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China), 125 sq., Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vermont, U. S. A. (1925), concerning the region of Huan-Yüan, west of Hsining, inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese, neighbors of the Monguors, provides interesting and minute details related to this special field. Because Tibetans and Chinese are enrolled in the Monguor clans, many of those beliefs and practices are necessarily encountered among the Monguors. The study helps to shed light on the frame of mind and the world of fear in which the Monguors live. Similarly,

[p. 96 (B)]

Schröder, Dominikus. Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'ujen im Sining-Gebiet, Nordwest-China /The Autumn Thank-offering of the Tujen in the Sining Region/. Anthropos, Vols. 37-40, pp. 867-873. Freiburg in der Schweiz: Paulusdruckerei, 1942-45 (1946/7).

Yale: Nk10 +An89 37/40

/This article covers much the same material as is in 3:Schröder this file. Therefore, it has not been processed. --Analyst/

Schröder, Dominikus. Bewillkommnung der Freude "Ying-Hsi" /Welcoming Joy "Ying-Hsi"/. Anthropos, Vols. 41-44, pp. 185-192. Freiburg in der Schweiz: Paulusdruckerei, 1946-1949.

Yale: Nk10 +An89 41/44

/Since the material covered in this article is also found in 3:Schröder, this file, it has not been processed. --Analyst/

113, 60, 61 Monguor AE9

[For discussion of kinship and kin groups among the Monguor of Kansu in relation to the kinship systems of the Altaic-speaking steppe pastoralists, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 312-360.]

113, 601 Monguor AE9

[For data on kinship terminology among the Monguor of Kansu, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 352-358.]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle. 732 731

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine. [132]

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits. 821 829

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encounters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms. 782 796 789

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic: the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement. [13]

[p.97(A)]

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NOTE ON THE CHINESE SOURCES

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In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to three Chinese compilations, the *Annals* of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these three works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsin chih* (New annals of Hsining prefecture) in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these "new" Annals had before him the original edition of 1595 and a corrected edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.

2. *Kansu hsin t'ung chih* (New collected annals of Kansu) in 100 *chuan*, printed in the Hsuan-t'ung period (1909–1911). The edition is called "new" because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.

3. *Wu liang k'ao chih* (Annals of the prefecture of Liangchow), printed in 1749, including the Annals of the subprefecture of P'ing fan.

L. M. J. S.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

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racy by the use of ordinary letters and without diacritical marks, as in the name Monguor itself. Monguor, Mongol, and Manchu names are therefore written in this straightforward way when they can be readily identified. There is however a special problem when names in these languages have come down through a Chinese phonetic transcription. The sounds of Chinese match those of Mongol and Manchu very badly, and it is therefore frequently difficult to restore the original. In such cases we have simply written out the name in its Chinese form, using the Wade system, with hyphens between the syllables. As an example of the choices that have to be made on an *ad hoc* basis, take the name (or title) that is usually written Jenghis or Genghis. A closer rendering of the Mongol sound and spelling is Chinggis. In Chinese this becomes Ch'eng-chi-ssu.

Titles, ranks, and names of offices are here rendered in the same rule of thumb way.

[P. 4 (B)]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

granaries existed before 1286, and no officials to provide for the subsistence of the soldiers. Moreover, it is a fact of common knowledge that Kubilai ordered the Mongol troops to farm and to defend the country at the same time.[48] This is borne out also by the fact that at the time the Ming dynasty (1368) started establishing Chinese colonies in Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 55; *Annals* of Hsining 24: 14*b*, and Monguors I: 30, 33), the conquered Mongol troops had to leave the irrigated country around the cities and were relegated to side valleys. The memory of this fateful decision, made by the Ming, was still fresh among the Monguors in 1910, and their tradition went so far as to claim their ancestors as the initial diggers of the irrigation canals and the inaugurators of agriculture in the country.

We get the confirmation of this fact from the celebrated Marco Polo, who with his father Nicolo and his uncle Matteo, went to Hsining in 1274, on his way from Venice to Peking. He writes, "the population of this country consists chiefly of idolators (Shamanists, lamaists) but there are also some Mohammedans and Christians (Nestorians) . . . the inhabitants employ themselves in trade and manufacturing. They have grain in abundance."[49]

Probably Marco Polo made this statement because the Mongol troops and the Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o farmed in Huangchung. This text proves also that probably during the century of peace preceding the conquest of Hsining by the Mongols, some Mohammedans and Nestorians from Turkistan had returned to Hsining, which they had known since the time of Chiossulo (1038), to engage in trade.

However, because the note of Marco Polo dates from 1274, we have to consider that during the campaigns of Chingis Khan in Turkistan, which had started in 1209, the Mongols had come in close contact with Mohammedans and Uighurs.[50] The influence exerted at court by the Mohammedan Yalavach is well known. It was so striking that Empress Toragana had to remove and demote him at the time he tried to impede the succession of Guyuk to Ogodei, planned by the empress.[51]

According to H. F. Schurmann, in the early years of the Mongolian rule in North China a great number of Central Asiatic merchants had moved into China and organized in the corporation known as "Ortaq." Ortaq means "partner" or companion. These merchants were financial "partners" of members of the imperial family and nobility, from whom they received sizable amounts of silver as loans. This capital they used to expand their trade activities. In addition, many of them func-

[48] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 562.
[49] *The travels of Marco Polo*, translated and edited by W. Marsden, reedited by Thomas Right, 135-138, Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent, London, 1950.
[50] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 483.
[51] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 276, 306.

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On account of the fact that the original family chronicles were lost during the troubles which beset the Ming dynasty, the most fantastic legends have come to be spread among the Li Monguors and even among their t'u-ssu, relating to the history of the clan ancestors preceding the Ming period (1368). Some of them circulating among the Li Wen clan have been noted in Monguors 1: 26, 27. Concerning the Li Nan-ko branch we possess two recent documents of 1937 and 1941 which Chinese scholars obtained, one from the Li t'u-ssu himself, and one from a clan member.

The first document, *Studies on Frontier Areas of Kansu, Ch'ing-hai, and Tibet*, by Ma Ho-t'ien[65] records, on page 179, the personal visit of Ma Ho-t'ien to the residence of the Li t'u-ssu in the subprefecture of Ming Hua and his trip to the ancestral cemetery at Hsiang T'ang.[66]

> The Li t'u-ssu was so kind as to show the chronicle of his clan. The size of the chronicle is two feet square, the image of the ancestor is depicted on the first page. On the next page is elaborated his history, and so on for each of the ancestors. However, the only trustworthy part of the chronicle is that starting with the surrender of Li Nan-ko to the Ming and relating the succession of the t'u-ssu from 1371 until the present time. The entire text concerning the history of the ancestors preceding Li Nan-ko is unreliable. Then we left the t'u-ssu and went to the ancestral cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch at Hsiang T'ang.

On page 180:

> The cemetery occupies a terrain as large as six acres, enclosed by a mud wall. The central alley, bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay, leads to a big stele, behind which is said to be the tomb of Li Nan-ko, and in front of which is built a stone table for the offerings to the dead. On the stele are engraved the text of the ratification by the Ch'ing emperor, of the appointment granted by the previous Ming emperor to the incumbent to the office of t'u-ssu, the text of a funeral oration granted by an emperor at the death of a t'u-ssu, also the glorious achievements of the clan and the names of the t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle. On both sides of the ayenue are erected the steles of the t'u-ssu of the Li Nan-ko clan dating from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, the most recent dating from the Kuang-su period (1875–1909). Outside the enclosure, at the entrance of the cemetery, are erected two big steles, "the spirit way steles." On the one erected on the eighth moon of 1427 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Nan-ko), who posthumously received the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Pen-chun tu-tu. He is a descendant of Li K'o-yung, whose original name was T'o-pa, to whom was granted the name Li by the Tang emperor. During the Yuan dynasty, Li Shang-ko was functionary at the offices of the prince of Ch'i. To him succeeded consecutively Li Mei-chi-lu, Li Kuan-chi-lu and Li Nan-ko who was T'ung-chih (vice-chairman) of the district of Hsining. He received during the Hung-wu period of the Ming the hereditary duty of Tu-chih-hueishih (High Commandant). To his son Yin was granted, on account of his merits, the title of Earl of Huei Ning,

[65] *Kan, Ch'ing-hai, Tsang pien-ch'ü K'ao-ch'a-chi*, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947.

[66] Hsiang T'ang is the name of the locality where the cemetery is situated, and means the Hall of Sacrifice, the room where the corpse is laid out.

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire).

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the subprefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.[67]

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.[68] From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li

[67] The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*).

[68] *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 3*b*, happened in 982.

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HT 175 648

In the same year the Ko-tsa Tibetan tribe which had surrendered in 1380, whose chief controlled 400 families and nomadized southwest of Ku Shan along the northern borders of the Yellow River, plundered the lamasery of Hung-hua. Captains Kao Hsien and Yang Yu with T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 4; 31: 14) pursued and defeated the rebels in the mountains of Pa-yen-jung (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 31*a*).

M 113

In 1520–1521 T'u-ssu Lu twice repelled Ordos brigands invading Ku Yuan and Chuang Lang.

The very first *Annals* of Hsining composed by the scholar Chang Chih were printed in 1520 (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 15*a*).

M 175x 648 HT 175 648

The Chinese army revolted in Kanchow in 1522. The Tibetan tribes in Huangchung seized the opportunity to plunder the country (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 14*a*). Governor Cheng Yang could not control the situation. At the same time 20,000 Ordos brigands invaded Ku Yuan, P'ing Liang, Chin Chou, killed the military officials Yang Hung and Liu Tuan, terribly devastated the country and killed and captured more than 10,000 people (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 31*b*).

In 1525 Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chief, had a score to settle with Dayan. In order to avoid his vengeance he joined the I-pu-la group. On his way to Kokonor he plundered the country. He was defeated by Yang Chung aided by T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*a*) and T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 32*b*). The next year T'u-ssu Lu was impeached by the officials of Cheng-fan and Hsining. He was removed from office (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 14*a–b;* 27: 15).

M 175x 643 723

After the officials had lost control over Huangchung in 1522 they convened to discuss these disastrous circumstances and find a solution. There was complete absence of direction and the officials were at loggerheads with one another. One group among them stubbornly defended the policy of Tuan Ying who, seventeen centuries earlier, had exterminated the Tibetans in order to pacify the country. At present, they said, the conditions are favorable, the Kokonor brigands control only two or three thousand Mongol horse and foot; from the moment the troops are moved the Tibetan tribes will abandon them. The other group obstinately advocated the policy of Chao Ch'ung-kuo who also, seventeen centuries before, won over the Tibetan tribes, granting titles to the chiefs, opening markets, etc. They said, "Because their army at present is in poor shape and money is lacking, this policy is the only one possible." The third group was as stubborn as the other two: Tuan Ying had exterminated the Tibetans and won only a barren worthless country, void of people. Chao Ch'ung-kuo had fooled himself, and after a couple of years the country had been out of control. Both generals had applied their policy to the utmost and failed. The right way is a middle way, the way of wise moderation; whoever

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prompt prosecution and quick forwarding of the accusations to the emperor. The emperor sanctioned the accusations January 1, 1724. An edict was sent throughout the provinces on February 11, 1724. Probably on account of this edict and the connections of the Surniana family with the Sessaka faction, General Nien Keng-Yao accused both sons of Surniana on July 1, 1724. In February, 1725, both sons were ordered to join their family, already banished to Yu Wei. In June, 1725, both were carried from Yu Wei to Peking, bound in chains, and condemned to die in prison. The twelfth son died in prison after two years of suffering, and the sixth son died in prison a couple of years later. These are the conjunctures of the accusations against the sons of the Surniana in 1724 by General Nien Keng-yao. They reveal the existence of a Catholic community and the building of a church in Hsining.[***]

175x 798 578

Recently in Volume 18 (1959) of *Monumenta Serica*, I encountered the very interesting article, "The Description and Map of Kansu by Giovanni Battista Maoletti De Serravalle," by Professor B. Szczeniak, Notre Dame University, dealing with the same subject.

175x 113

Maoletti was born in Serravalle, near Milan, in 1669. He entered the order of the Franciscans in 1689. In 1705 he arrived in Canton and went from Sian (Shensi) to Lanchow (Kansu) in 1710. He was chased from there by bonzes in 1713, and moved to Liangchow and Hsining (Kansu) where he worked until 1716. He had been appointed Administrator of the vicariate of Hukwang, but left China during the persecution in 1724. He died on the way to Canton on January 14, 1725. The report had been written by Maoletti in Hsining, where he lived from 17[illegible] to 1716. Maoletti's map was made four to five years before the *K'ang Hsi* or Jesuit Atlas was printed in 1719. It is not a studied piece of cartography, but a sketch-map to illustrate a mission report.

The map and the description of Kansu and Kokonor at this date is the more significant, for only a short time later great changes were brought about by the Jungar invasion of Tibet (1717), and again by the terrible revolt in 1723–1724 of Mongols and Tibetans of Kokonor and Huang-chung, and Lamas. The report is interesting for it deals with many details about places and people and the products of the country,—rhubarb, musk, and coal, silver and gold mines. (*Monumenta Serica* 18: 294–298, 1959.)

Professor B. Szczesniak, in his very interesting article, also notes the work of F. Dehergne, S.J., "Les Missions du Nord de la Chine vers 1700," Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu 24, 1955. Both sources help to give a view of the mission work in remote Kansu during the period of revolts.

The Maoletti report, following the map, is alive with interest in the Tartars (Mongols) who figure so prominently on the map, with the eagerness to further mission work among them, and with details about places and people. Maoletti's interest for the conversion of the Mongols is manifest in many places of the report. He is pleased to note that north of Topa sits a prince who is lord of Topa—

175x 797

[***] *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* 2: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. De Mailla, *Histoire Generale de la Chine* 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, Rue Saint Jacques, 1880.